241 476 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tediousness [461] that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

221 241 Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

244 [412] To plant yams, carâ [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc, the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of carâ knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] 241 [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize, peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĭra. The word vuĭra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxí, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĭ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĭva. 264 622 476 651 The ãntaĭva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĭ́ and Urukumĭ́. (Although Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

476 under the leadership of the ãntaiva of the Anantxá, Tanupantxóa and Vuíraí. Here the Anantxá were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirú. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió mixed together at random.

Tanupantxóa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãntaíva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumí of the Tãnãvé and Kamairá of the Vuirantxinió. Vũãtanami' [578] had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairahó, whom he hated. Maninohó had stayed home. Kamairahó sat on a felled tree and watched.

313 [100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a 476 tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãntaíva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

461 After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduc- 182 tion of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 461 apatxirú of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a